By Louise Harding

Better Not To Know: Concerning the right to conscript men to serve in a war which has never been declared, and has been waged on a pretext, which there are excellent grounds to believe was entirely falsified, "Peace News" of May 8, contained an article by Tom Wardle, telling of the case of a certain young man who had the courage not to drift with the tide. It said:

> Clement Beer is nothing if not thorough. He used to go to art school. One day a lecturer came to talk on current affairs. He spoke about the Korean War. He gave it as his opinion that it was started by the South Koreans. That shook Clement. If that was true it struck at the basis of his trust in newspapers, radio and much of the literature of Britain. He decided to make sure.
>
> He and a friend bought the lecturer's pamphlets. They studied them. Then they went to the office of the United Nations in London and asked for documents relating to Korea. They studied those. Then the Government White Paper. Then letters to the Foreign Office. Then a visit to a newspaper library to study old issues of American newspapers.
>
> At the end of that they allowed themselves to draw conclusions. The North Koreans didn't start the war.
>
> Right, said Clement, I'll not fight. Taking part in a war you believed in was bad enough. Taking part in a dishonourable fight was impossible.....
>
> ....Clement Beer's appeal (as a conscientious objector) was dismissed. He goes back to prison.

This writer has frequently sought to learn, from those who support the Dulles-Truman account, the reason for the faith which (they claim) is in them. No documentation has ever been received in reply. But—"there were things that it was better not to know!" said the German woman who had kept out of the concentration camps of Hitlerland.

Formosa Greatest Danger: The same issue of "Peace News" has an article, "Formosa Greatest Danger" by that stout-hearted Britisher, Sir John Pratt, who says:

> The cease-fire in Korea will get you nowhere. The key to the situation is not the war in Korea, it is Formosa. So long as America insists upon keeping control of Formosa for her own purpose you can get a cease-fire in Korea but you will not have peace: you will have war to the end of time.

Sir John was in China for 27 years; on his return home on leave, he was called to the Foreign Office, where he stayed for 13 years as expert on Far Eastern Affairs. Sir John said that if people were to put themselves in the place of the Chinese and the Koreans they would realise that the United Nations Organisation was just a servile instrument of American policy. He said that what was called a United Nations war was really an American war to impose Syngman Rhee on North Korea.

The Rhee Cabal: Puppet Rhee wants all Chinese troops withdrawn from North Korea and demands from the US permission to drive to the North to "unify" Korea.

The northern part of Korea has been deliberately depopulated as far as possible. It will be recalled that Rhee said there would be no Communists left in Korea after the war. The formerly-thriving industries of the North have been smashed.

When the war broke out, Korea was on the point of being unified—but without the United States and its puppet Rhee. The vote against Rhee in the elections of May 30, 1950, ran 210 to 48 (NY Times 6/2/51) even in the police state of South Korea.

There was, therefore, no motive for the forces of the North to attack, since the political leaders of both sections had formed a coalition.

There was every reason for US to encourage Rhee to start the war, especially since Formosa was about to be attacked, and it was acknowledged that it could not hold. Senator Homer Ferguson set in motion forces to hold Formosa, saying that the United States must "secure Formosa from Communist occupation—no matter what."

"Every possible military commander feels that way," said Ferguson, "but probably what will happen is this: the State Department will have us recognize the Chinese Communists and they will move into Formosa.

"With Formosa in Communist hands, our whole scheme and system of Pacific defense will fall apart....in the middle." "No matter what!" said Ferguson. American and Korean graveyards tell what that "what" was—along with the complete devastation of North Korea amid scenes of ghastly barbarity.

There is no logic whatever in the claim that North Korea started it. No slightest proof was ever offered, but the "free world" swallowed the story. WHY?

Here is an incident that may help to answer that question. After Harry Truman had (illegally) set the war going, a 5¢ pamphlet by Richard Morris was published in this country. It was altogether from conservative sources, and was a most scholarly and convincing argument against the story told by the US militarists. A copy was sent to Mrs. Walter Lovett of Chelsea, Mass. In San Mateo Times of Oct. 24, 1950, appeared a cut of Mrs. Lovett, holding this pamphlet in her hand: it was entitled, "What's Happening in Korea?" The legend under the picture read:

> Red Propaganda—Mrs. Walter Lovett of Chelsea, Mass., holds pro-Red booklet which is now in the hands of the FBI. The anonymous sender apparently obtained her address from a news report listing her son, Richard A. Lovett, 18, as wounded in Korea. The booklet contains 30 pages crammed with un-American views.

But they were not un-American: they were in the best interests of this country, as of peaceful folk everywhere. The trick of shouting Communism was used to terrify people who might read this excellent little book. And soon it was out of print.

Wrote Goebbels, March 9, 1943: "The Fuehrer fully endorses my anti-Bolshevik propaganda. That is the best horse we now have in our stable."

And that is the best horse US Reaction has in its stable. Using this sham weapon —for Communism was never strong enough in the United States even to dream of a forcible revolution—freedom of speech and press have been almost smashed; teachers in schools and universities are terrorized; the sham Constitution-worshippers have trampled on the Constitution.

But back to Rhee: He threatens uprisings in South Korea over the truce; mobs crowd the streets—fire hoses are considerately played on the sidewalk in front of them, instead of wetting them down when they threaten US headquarters. The schools are dismissed, to help out the Rhee demonstration. Remembering what happened in the last "election", when the people were ordered into the street to shout Ja!, your scribe suspects similar tactics. Sure enough, this comes from Tokyo, June 11:

> South Korea appeared to be having trouble keeping up the pace of its protest against the truce terms. Officials issued conflicting statements and the demonstrations led by weeping school girls lacked enthusiasm. "The government told us to demonstrate," said one young leader, according to Associated Press.

Rhee objects violently to having Indian troops come in to guard the prisoners "unwilling" to return home. Naturally: the whole frame-up will then be exposed, and the horrors of Koje and the other camps maintained by the guardians of freedom will be laid before the eyes of the world.

Now Rhee talks about "going it alone", when he can't even feed his army. He doesn't mean it. He knows that if he attacked the North, and came back a second time, badly defeated, USA could never let him be driven out, as Chiang was. Korea wants none of Rhee, or of the United States. United they stand, and defeated, they would have to get out together. So (Washington, UP, June 10) "This government is determined to go through with the armistice, if possible, but continued fighting by the Koreans would present this country with a terrible dilemma," officials said.

And Here's Where We Came In: When Rhee announced (dispatch in San Francisco Chronicle, June 8), "We must continue fighting and unify the country by driving up (to the Manchurian border) by ourselves", he propsed to repeat what happened on the morning of June 25, 1950. Almost anybody ought to be able to see that now.

* * * * * * *

NOTES AND QUOTES

By James L. Brewer

United States Self-Saving Anti-Fascist Expediency: It appears today that the existence of the anti-Hitler alliance of U.S. and the U.S.S.R. was in no respect a basically-oriented anti-fascist enterprise on the American part, but a purely self-saving, defensive expediency in emergency. For the Hitlerism encountered actually had eventuated in the pattern of a logical maturing of capitalism's exploitative character. It is a pattern with which the American undemocratic drift of today is conforming, as we take on more and more the aspects of the police state.

Stay Dumb with Velde: That savior of his country from the Reds, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, Rep. Harold Velde recently defended the U.S. from the sin of reading. He spoke in Congress against a library service bill: "Educating American people through the means of this library service could bring about a change of their political attitude quicker than any other method. The basis of all communism and socialistic influence is education of the people."

Poland Raises the Blinds: Books printed in Poland in 8 years since 1945 numbered 510 million or 100 million more than in the 20 inter-war years. Book festivals and fairs popularize reading among all the people. Village libraries circulate scientific works as well as Dickens and Sienkiewicz. In the Polish parliament there are 30 novelists, playwrights and poets.

Poland is celebrating a Polish revolution of 400 years ago, the Copernican revolution (in astronomy), and is reconstructing the old tower where Copernicus worked out his theory which transformed the thinking of the world. A new planetarium and an observatory will be built. Poles will be made conscious of their historic place in the liberating work of the Renaissance.

McCarthy's Dominion of Fear: Through the McCarthy offensive against Constituional and democratic government the mighty industrial-financial ownership is building up a dominion of fear, threatening to hold this fascist McCarthyism in reserve, just in case Americans might take it into their heads to return to real Americanism. All this points to the possibilities of a denouement of Hitler-Hindenburg parallel.

The Alsop brothers in their syndicated column (April 15, 1953) have this to say about McCarthy:

"It is almost universally agreed that McCarthy's objective is the presidency and nothing less."

"Powerful McCarthy backers, notably Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, have already proclaimed the death of the Republican party and called for a new party."

"McCarthy has plenty of financial backing. He has important support in the press and the radio....he has shown that he is in his own way a brilliant political operator."

"For the first time in modern American history he has succeeded in uniting behind him the whole assortment of small proto-fascist groups."

"Probably only the failure of the Eisenhower administration involving a serious depression or a war, would give McCarthy a real opportunity for national power.... It has happened elsewhere and it can happen here."

Our Plunging Institutions: "We have been propagandized and coerced to see the enemy as abroad, not here at home. Our domestic confusion dictates a foreign policy orientating all of us, that cumulatively encourages unreality in our appraisal of 'what is wrong'.

"Our real democracy (not the free enterprise system) is fighting a losing fight. There is no help from within ourselves or from our plunging institutions.

"The great issue of our time, and man's hope probably, lies overseas where one-half of the people on earth are struggling to their feet from feudalism and colonialism,

and Americans, despite their point 4 brave words, are against this momentous forward push.

"We want things our own way. We cannot see in the calculated twilight in which we are forced to live that this is one of the historic periods of institutional change when forgotten men are taking their fate in their own hands.

"All that our democratic experience inspires in us as a nation is the demand that the rest of the world fall into the trap in which we are caught.

"As we fight our rear-guard fight, doing what we can, the long time is on the side of democratic values. But, the new tide will probably have to flow back to us from beyond the seas.

"Asia, eastern Europe, Africa, if they can escape our net, and also avoid an iron-clad bureaucratic set-up, may evolve new patterns of a living, collectively-oriented democracy that might persuade us Americans to resume our march forward toward a way of life we can respect and in which we can again respect ourselves."

—Robert S. Lynd in the Nation.

Stevenson in India: "Stevenson's special admirers and students...had hoped that India would have an opportunity of hearing from an American arguments that were 'not pure Yankee talk'...Whatever the reason, the liberals were disappointed to hear from his mouth the familiar phrasing of all issues in terms of the conflict with Communism, and they felt that a golden opportunity to strike a rapport between India and America on the liberal note was muffed."

—K. Shridharami in New Republic, 6/1/53.

The Non-Politics of Bishop Sheen: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen said recently in an interview at Mercy High School in Rochester, N.Y., that one third of the world's population is Communist-dominated and there'll be no change without a crisis. "The crisis could be war," he said, for it must be a cataclysm, and he didn't know what other kind of cataclysm could unravel world troubles. Then he added: "We never discuss politics, even though our enemies say we do." True enough, the bishop doesn't discuss it, he just lays it on the line and it's war!

Dirty War Sanctified: Many of our people simply cannot conceive that Americans or Britons can so lower themselves as to use dirty tricks in warfare. Yet the license to commit such tricks comes from saints of the church according to James Burnham, who lectures regularly at various U.S. war colleges and who cites St. Thomas More's description of his Utopians' method of fighting. "Their aim," says Burnham, "was to win, if possible, by all manner of craft, bribery, deception..."

Burnham was defending Mark Clark's offer of cash to MIG pilots to bring their planes over to U.S. side. A Hollywood beauty followed up by offering her company for one night to the traitor.

Tragic Humor of American Congress: Mary Van Kleeck, industrial sociologist, says of the American anti-Red Bogey issue: "The Smith Act and the McCarren Act are wrong in assuming that the communist party and every organization seeming to have similar purposes are conspiracies to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence, abandoning the basic Anglo-American theory of justice.

"To any sociologist who has studied communism as a social theory and an historical development there must be tragic humor in the idea that Congress can undertake to describe communism and make it so and then make it illegal.

"What we are opposing by military force is not aggression to establish dictatorship, but the effort of people to work for social gains. Socialism may destroy the opportunities of some international businesses to make excessive profits by exploiting the cheaply-paid workers of other nations, but to a progressive domestic capitalism, which the U.S. strives to maintain, socialism abroad offers unlimited opportunity for utilization of our enormous and growing productivity."

* * * * * * *

KOJE UNSCREENED

By Wilfred Burchett and Alan Winnington

Reviewed by Nora Rodd

There is nothing the common people so much want as peace in Korea, and in the world, and yet the truce talks linger on. Each new hope is dashed because of some new issue that comes up in connection with the prisoners of war.

"Koje Unscreened" is a carefully documented study of the brutal massacres of Korean and Chinese prisoners of war, now totalling more than 3,000 killed and wounded, and of the calculated US war policy behind them. The authors show how these events are related to the stalling at Panmunjom. In Korea during the whole period of the war, and on hand at all the peace talks, the authors have spent many months in the North Korean prisoner of war camps. They have interviewed not only scores of men who have escaped from Koje, but men who have also taken part in the brutalities. These latter include three Canadian POW's who were forced to serve unwillingly for six weeks under General Boatner, in May and June, 1952, for which a Canadian Colonel lost his position.

As early as July 1951, the American Command decided not to return prisoners (Saturday Evening Post, 11/23/52) and the US Army's Psychological Branch submitted a scheme for the retention of these troops—that of "forcible repatriation," or "voluntary repatriation." Terms not easily understood by the public. The Counter-Intelligence Corps would provide the facts to suit this policy, and strong-arm men who had worked for Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek were brought into the POW camps as guards. Of their methods in a prison in Seoul, Ian Morrison reports (the New York Times, 10/25/50):

"The crimes committed within its walls...were the accepted methods to eradicate communism...Interrogation is a neat word...(It) meant beating with rifle-butts and bamboo sticks, and the insertion of splinters under finger nails."

Under date of December 18, 1950, M. Reynier of the International Committee of the Red Cross also describes a visit to two prisons in Seoul. He saw about 50 dead bodies—men and women and children. The daily death-rate from starvation alone was 100. He saw torture instruments and an execution shed where two hangings could take place at one time. It is men who ran these prisons that have been in charge of American POW camps. More than 100 of them had arrived on Koje by August, 1951. They set up the program of Civil Information and Education under which POW's were starved, beaten and tortured in order to make them renounce their countries and promise to fight for Rhee or under Chiang Kai-shek.

In December, 1951, Brigadier-General Nuckols, UN Briefing Officer, told the press that the Americans had no intention of returning more prisoners than were returned to them because they did not wish to present the Communists with a military advantage in terms of manpower. But the US had taken many prisoners; it was against the whole of the Korean people they were fighting. ("The South Koreans also hate us like hell," said an Army recruiting officer in Detroit during the first month of the war.) They did not intend to repatriate these "Reds." There must be figures to show that many thousands did not "want" to go home.

Cardinal Spellman visited the camps, and on January 28, 1952, broadcast from Tokyo that of the 150,000 prisoners 71% did not want to return to Communist rule. He told how he saw a group of 300 Chinese who had tattooed themselves with the words, "I am anti-Communist" in Chinese, Korean and English. (General Libby explained this as tattooing each other voluntarily while Colonel Fitzgerald complained that the marks were not very lasting since they had been made with ordinary stickpins!)

Another report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (and again ignored by the Western press), published in French in the April 25, 1952 issue of Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge, told how the prisoners objected to "screening,"

and trouble followed. The Committee recommended avoidance of the political program of the Civil Information and Education of prisoners of war as "contrary to Article 42 of the Geneva Convention of 1949." Yet at this very time General Van Fleet warned the prisoners to observe the Conventions so "we won't have to resort to brutalities."

Since tattooing and "blood petitions" had failed to "educate" the POW's, open mass terror became the rule, but publicity was bad, and so the American Command asked for secret sessions at Panmunjom. These began March 25, 1952.

General Dodd was now in command of Koje Island. In April he was given the job of herding together 70,000 prisoners "who wanted to return home," and of removing the rest to the mainland and other islands on the pretence that they had refused to be repatriated. Under machine gun, bayonet and whip they were driven from Koje...

But Dodd was captured and the world learned the meaning of "screening,"—that under torture prisoners were being pressed into military service contrary to Geneva Convention; that US activities on Koje were against all International Law.

Then the Document of May 23, signed by 6,223 POW's on Koje—many of them soon to die—reached the world, a cry to all humanity:

> ...Death is coming nearer to us every moment...they drive our comrades by the thousand into gas chambers and torture rooms...many are shot, their corpses thrown into the sea...
>
> On May 19, in Camp 66...all had signed as wanting to go home...American troops opened fire with machine guns and, using flame-throwers and even tanks, killed 127 of our comrades and wounded many more.
>
> On May 22 and 23...slaughter in Compound 62 and 73...88 killed and 39 wounded...May 23, four beheaded from Compound 76...Just now American tortures in Compound 16 made 187 comrades blind by applying electric current to them...May 24 is still to come...

The capture of General Dodd did not end the torture of forcible "screening," as General Colson had promised.

It continues to this day.

The Geneva Convention of 1949, drawn up by 63 countries and signed by 52, states that "prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after cessation of active hostilities." The plan of "voluntary repatriation" has been a dreadful method of stalling peace negotiations, but war, as the authors state, is dreadfully profitable to some people!

"Koje Unscreened" is a book of the utmost importance and urgency, putting before the peoples a new and powerful weapon for peace, and despite everything, it is the people who will decide. The book contains 171 pages and many illustrations. It is published by the authors, Box 545, Peking, China. It can be bought, in 10 days, at one shilling, from Dribbon, 228 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1, England.

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Letters to the Editor

How to end the Korean War, which Truman and Dulles started, seems a problem to the American government. Their prestige, which is nil at present, would be enhanced, IF they would admit their damnable error, GET OUT pronto, and make amends for their terrible destruction, thievery of tungsten etc. Truman copied Hitler's methods as closely as possible; and Ike (or rather president Dulles) will follow suit, no doubt. When a bad egg quits, there always seems to be a worse political egg to replace him. —Dr. Frank W. Fourney, Prince Albert, Sask.

Concerning ONE... "I wish it were a weekly, and that a million thinking Americans would peruse every copy of it. And that politicians, public office holders and other mental retardees should be made to memorize it. Its style and penetrating eloquence, its relentless pursuit and presentation of fact is unparalleled. It is one of the few media by which I sustain my own spirit, energy, and confidence in the future."

—A liberal "under fire".

The Splendor of the Rosenbergs

The Rosenbergs were martyred by self-blinded men who hug their blindness and would stop the sun from rising, for they want no one to see. They were victims of the wicked wrath of humans who hate their own humanity.

There is no use rehashing the trial. Perjured evidence. False testimony. A climate of terror. Anti-Semitism. A vindictive press. It added up to the legal lynching of two innocents who preferred death to the betrayal of their integrity.

By their demeanor throughout the trial and in the manner of their dying they took the initiative out of the hands of their killers. The victims became the victors. Out of this horror of their death they made a thing the world will hold in startled reverence as long as wonder lives in the hearts of men.

The same hurry was on the perpetrators of the crucifixion of the Rosenbergs as was on the cabal that let loose hell in Korea.

The same itch to get on with the murdering before the sleeping people opened their eyes. But this was different. The other was a sly haste to cover a conspiracy to enslave a nation. This was done in a vomiting rage, its echo the frenetic Winchell voicing the phobias of the rich.

An act of this kind, when performed by a great power, throws into sharp relief the quality of its victims.

The splendor of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg as they walked to their gethsemane threw a shadow on the High Court and on the frightened President whom history will remember only because they did this thing.

Michael and Robert Rosenberg have received from their parents an inheritance far richer than could have come to them from all the dynasties of American wealth. They have nothing to fear. But others will fear to look into their eyes.

The "New" Imperialism

Louise Harding, one of the sharpest-eyed and least-fooled writers we know, is of the opinion that Syngman Rhee in letting out (or driving out) the UN's prisoners of war is working in collusion with the Americans and that he has been doing so since he was flown to Korea as US puppet.

Among many other things supporting this view she recalls that Senator Flanders of Vermont not so long ago accused the US Air Force of "waging psychological warfare on the people of the United States".

If the US Air Force will deceive and mislead American public opinion, as they undoubtedly have done, what reason have we to suppose that the US Navy and the US Army will not do the same thing?

After reading the testimony of MacArthur and Van Fleet before Congressional committees it is obvious that the US Army is making a large contribution towards forming the policy of the nation. The President is a general in the army. MacArthur is still powerful in this direction. He was deposed not because of his policy but because of his indiscretions and because of his defeats in the field. His policy went on under Ridgway and Van Fleet. With variations in pace, it still goes on.

The usual pattern in imperial expansion is somewhat as follows: (1) an incident in the victim country is played up to alarm or exasperate the home population of the imperial power; (2) armed forces are involved in such a way that to retreat would imply dishonor to the Flag; (3) the victim is pounced on and incorporated in the colonial system. So-called economic imperialism does not differ so widely as is generally believed from the old-style political imperialism which of course was nothing if not economic. The main difference is that one counted its gains in pounds, shillings and pence, and the other in dollars and cents. Any other differences are of emphasis only.

It is true that the "new" economic imperialism (US) tries to rely as much as possible on the power of the purse to buy control of the physical assets of the victim and to

buy his soul through control of his communications media (to use advertising language). It buys the victim's political leadership or instals it from abroad (Rhee).

Its great foundations (Ford, Rockefeller) put their long fingers on the throat of the victim's educational institutions. In a thousand clever ways economic imperialism numb and confuses the mentality of the victim. Such are its preferred methods.

But the armed forces must always be there in the background in case some bought politician gets uppity or some conditioned population catches "subversive" ideas and becomes de-conditioned. For both imperialisms depend on what used to be termed force majeure and is now called negotiating from strength, in short, bullying.

Moreover, both victimize their home peoples as much as their colonies. Both have to lie to the home folks about the nature of their knavish tricks abroad, the old by a foreign secretary who filters the harsh acts of the Foreign Office (the realistic element in the government) to the tender consciences of the peoples' representatives, the new by a venal press which performs the same function for the masses.

For instance, Walter Lippmann, who tries to keep his head above the flood of indecency on the average editorial page, finds it necessary to repeat this very morning, as we write, the transparent fable of North Korean aggression. Yet the rest of his story tells of Rhee's present acts of "deception", "false" and "full of guile". He tells how this honorable old Princeton alumnus deliberately broke his promises to the UN command.

Lippmann is no fool, and he must realize that, if after 3 years of protecting him from the tender mercies of his outraged people he still hasn't the decency to play ball with his protectors, then it is more than likely it was Rhee (in collusion with the "realistic" elements in the U.S. government) who "arranged" the war in 1950 when he had been repudiated in the Korean elections and stood to lose nothing and gain everything by the adventure.

Of course Lippmann doesn't yet dare to hint such a thing, but he appears to be preparing his readers for a big let-down. For as he gazes at the predicament of the UN in Korea he seems to have a falling feeling in the pit of his stomach. Rhee, lesser partner in the game of empire, just like Hitler before him, is double-crossing his rich partners. He isn't playing along as he promised he would. He has his own idea as to the shape of Dulles' Great Design and it includes the delivery of the whole of Korea to him now. The Great Design has turned into a crossword puzzle in which two puzzlers have fallen out because they are using different languages.

What we are watching in Korea and throughout the Far East (as well as in Europe) and what we are exposing is the futile attempt of a nouveau riche empire (US) to grab the booty that is slipping through the fingers of the old-fashioned empires. The State Dept. thought to do this by economic pressure and diplomacy. True enough it was the State Dept. which triggered "war" in Korea. But that "war" was to have been a mere incident, a two-weeks holiday for UN troops.

The present haul-out is an admission that the State Dept. made a mistake. But does it know how big its mistake was? That is the $64 question.

It is the correct answer to this question which alone will give the key to the problem of successfully extricating UN troops from Korea. Lippmann, Wall Street's wisest counsellor, doesn't give the answer, though we suspect he knows it. At present he is content to point to the horrible contradictions of the UN occupation. Rhee wants a free hand. But he wants munitions.

He is through with the UN. And the UN apparently is through with him. He wants to go it alone, but wants US unilateral aid. It amounts to this. Rhee is forcing the US to act without the UN. For, as Lippmann says, "We cannot leave Korea now..." and "we are compelled to assert our authority over his (Rhee's) government and over South Korea."

In the summer of 1950, in our issue Common Sense About Korea we said that the UN was fighting the whole Korean people. The truth of that becomes more evident every day. Thus we have come full circle. The "new" imperialism takes off the last stitch of its clothes and discloses itself as the old imperialism of naked force.

Why help to subsidize a paper like this? Why should people of humble means sacrifice their pleasures and even their necessities, some in a most disproportionate degree, to keep alive such a paper?

Well, perhaps our friends who do this look at it from an advertizing point of view.

An advertisement is a subsidy. Practically every publication we buy is literally a hand-bill which hawks not only the wares but also the viewpoint of the advertisers. That's what the news and views sections are for, to put over their picture of what the world looks like and what they want the world to become.

That picture is distorted. How do our friends know this? Because they have checked it against another picture, presented by some struggling paper, badly printed, on poor newsprint or perhaps multilithed, as ONE is. These papers exist by means of the voluntary support of their friends. Through these papers they express or "sell" their picture of the world and what they want the world to become.

It is amazing that there remain progressive readers who still do not realize that a peace-making press can only live if it is subsidized by peace-making readers, just as the hand-bills are subsidized by merchants of death.

This paper has always had a hard time, perhaps harder than most of its class; because we have been non-party and non-church. We had singled out a job different from the strictly party or church job. Our job, to put it too briefly, was to carry over traditional values into an age which otherwise might become barrenly statistic.

This was a job of conservatism, but to carry the spiritual furniture of the past across the bridge to the future, we have to cross the bridge. In fact, for men to cross the bridge at all means that they have to be men in the first place. And to be a man doesn't mean to throw away spiritual weapons. What Marx took with him, not knowing that he took it, into the British Museum, what lay behind his eyes, unrecognized by himself, as he pored over the Blue Books, was the passionate love of men and the indignation of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. We wanted to restore to socialism a knowledge of its father and to Judeo-Christianity a knowledge of its child.

Doctrinaire Christians and Jews cut the cord to the future as doctrinaire Marxists cut the cord to the past. But man is one with his past even while moving forward. It is this one-ness we have stressed and shall stress under the new title.

Concerning our former title The Protestant: The old Protestants fought for freedom and only incidentally against those who would have "contained" that freedom. The old Protest witnessed for, not against. It was this old meaning we attempted to restore to the house of Protestantism. But we reckoned without our hosts who had allowed their enemies to twist the word to a negative meaning.

When we began, at the end of 1938, Protestant leadership was in a fluid state. Our hope was to influence that leadership in the direction of a mystical-realism according to which it would have kept the road open across the bridge spoken of above, the bridge between the saved soul and the saved society.

But as of now Protestant leadership in the West and wherever the West is preponderant, is chiefly concerned with dynamiting the bridges.

ONE says that humanity, to become really human (and even to stay alive on this earth), must become one, and that the time of grace is running out, for history is getting caught in the gears of the atomic age. And we say that this unity will not just happen. It is in our power to frustrate our human destiny. And that is what we do when we yield to a subtle temptation that is spreading over this continent, the temptation to let history do our work for us. "The years belong to man, the centuries to God," say certain "Christians". "The triumph of socialism is inevitable," say certain "Marxists". Each falsifies his own creed. To listen to them would be to betray our children.

Our enemy is not something to brush off with "inevitability" or "deity". He is real. He can kill. He can destroy the sanctity of the home. He can put millions to the torch. But, they say, the tempters, down through the centuries he has been steadily pushed back. Yes, but he has never been pushed back without fighting. And men and women (and children!) must fight him. So, fighting, we ask you to help ONE.

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ONE

(Formerly The Protestant)

JULY 1953

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